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ABSTRACT

The Seri language contains over 50 kinship terms and represents one of the most highly elaborated kinship systems described to date. This paper discusses Seri kinship terminology and centers around, but is not limited to, the set of obligatory possessed noun stems that are inflected with the following possessive prefixes": "hi-," "ma-," and "a-." After an introductory section, section 2 discusses various kinds of terms that, although used to refer to kinsmen, are special in that they are either unpossessed nouns or nouns derived from verbs. They are not kinship terms insofar as word class is concerned. In section 3, basic kinship terms and their extended meanings are presented, and in section 4, terminology used for deceased persons is presented. (JL)

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SERI KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

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1 Introduction

The Seri language contains over fifty kinship terms, and as such represents one of the most highly elaborated kinship systems described to date.[2] A list of these terms was given in Kroeber 1931, although Kroeber's list was (understandably) incorrect in certain ways. Our discussion of the Seri kinship terminology centers around, but is not limited to, the set of obligatorily possessed noun stems which are inflected with the following possessive prefixes.

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[1]The Seri people live along the mainland coast of the Gulf of California in Sonora, Mexico. For more information on the people and culture, see Felger and Moser 1985 and the references cited there. This paper is based on data collected primarily by the first author and her husband since 1952. A primary source of information has been Roberto Herrera Marcos, for whose invaluable help we are greatly indebted, but many other people were also consulted and data were gathered during periods of residence in the village of Desemboque. We thank Ruth Brend, Jane Hill, and William Merrifield for comments and help on earlier drafts of this paper and absolve them of responsibility for the remaining deficiencies.

The Seri terms are written in the orthography currently in use by the Seri people with the exception that stress marks have been added to aid in pronunciation. Stress is marked when it does not occur on the first syllable of the word. (Stress generally falls on the first syllable of the root, although there are numerous exceptions.) The orthographic symbols which do not roughly correspond to their counterparts in Spanish include: *e* for a low front vowel (like the vowel of *cat*), double vowels for length, *h* for glottal stop, *z* for a voiceless retroflex sibilant (similar to the *sh* of *ship*), *x* for a back velar fricative, *l* for a voiceless lateral fricative, and *cō* for the labialized velar stop. The phoneme *m* is sometimes pronounced as a velar nasal, as in ***comcáac*** [koŋkáak] 'people, Seris', and sometimes as a nasalized labiovelar glide, as in ***cmique*** [kʷ̃ík̃æ] 'person, Seri'. For further information on the Seri language, see Marlett 1981, 1988, Marlett and Stemberger 1983. This article has appeared (in Spanish) in *Anales de Antropología*, published by the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (1989, 26:367-88).

[2]The Seri people have an intricate system of speaking and giving relationships. This system does not appear to be closely tied to the kinship system, however.

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(1)

First person	*hi-*
Second person	*ma-*
Third person	*a-*

Only kinship terms carry the prefix set in (1), which contrasts in the second and third person with the person prefix set used with other possessed nouns and nominalized verbs. The nonkinship possessive prefixes are given in (2).

(2)

First person	*hi-*
Second person	*mi-*
Third person	*i-*

This paper is organized as follows. In Section 2 we discuss various kinds of terms which, although used to refer to kinsmen, are special in that they are either unpossessed nouns or nouns derived from verbs. They are not kinship terms insofar as word class is concerned. In Section 3 we present the basic kinship terms and their extended meanings; no detailed analysis is given. In Section 4 we present the terminology used for deceased persons.

2 Nonkinship terms

2.1 Derived from verbs

Some commonly used Seri expressions for kinsmen are derived from verbs. The expressions ***iha hocóa*** 'my adult blood kinsmen', ***iha mocóa*** 'your adult blood kinsmen', and ***iha ocóa*** 'his/her adult blood kinsmen' are composed of the word ***iha*** (of uncertain meaning) and the object nominalized form of the verb ***quiya*** 'know' (root: {*-aa*}). The passive subject nominalized form occurs in ***iha hapáa*** 'adult blood kinsmen'. Related expressions are ***iha pti quiya*** 'kinsmen', which includes the word ***pti*** 'together' and the active subject nominalized form of 'know'; and ***xica quih hocóa*** 'my nonadult blood kinsmen', which includes the word ***xica*** 'things' and ***quih*** 'the (sg.)'. If one doesn't know who his kinsmen are because he doesn't know who his father is, he might say ***Hihíha zo htcmáaho*** 'I don't know my ***iha***.' Yet another way to refer to kinsmen is by the expression ***comcáac quihíin cayáxi*** 'people who are close', i.e. 'people who surround'.

The expressions ***hiiquet***, ***hiicto*** 'my child, my children' are used by a woman to refer to her children. These terms are object nominalizations derived from the verb ***quiiquet*** 'to be pregnant (with)'. Compare also: ***miiquet*** 'your child' and ***iiquet*** 'her child'. There is no kinship term otherwise used by women to refer to their children.

The verbs ***caazi*** 'carry' (sg. object) and ***coon*** 'carry (pl. object)' are used in various ways to refer to one's father. The subject nominalized forms of these verbs (the citation form used above) with a direct object prefix (written in the orthography as a separate word and distinct from the possessive prefixes in most cases) yields such words as ***him cáazi*** 'my father' ('the one who carried me'), ***ma cáazi*** 'your father' ('the one who carried you'), ***hazi cóon*** 'our father' ('the one who carried us'), and ***mazi cóon*** 'your (pl.) father' ('the one who carried you (pl.)'). The object nominalized forms are also commonly used: ***ihyáazi*** 'my child (man speaking)' ('the one that I carried'), ***hoén*** 'my children (man speaking)' ('the ones that I carried').

The verb ***ical*** 'accompany' yields the most commonly used expressions for spouse.

This verb is unique in Seri in that it has two possible object nominalization paradigms, one with prefix set (1) and one with prefix set (2). Only the former has the meaning of spouse: ***hiyal*** 'my spouse', ***maal*** 'your spouse', ***aal*** 'his/her spouse'. The latter has the productive meaning: ***hiyal*** 'the one I accompany', ***miyal*** 'the one you accompany', ***iyal*** 'the one s/he accompanies'. Another expression for husband is ***ctam ihyacóxl*** 'the man that I watch over'.

The verb ***moca*** 'come' is nominalized in an expression for parent(s): ***iti hmiha ctam*** 'my father' ('the male one that I come from'), ***iti hmiha cmaam*** 'my mother' (the female one that I come from'), ***iti mmihat*** 'your parents', ***iti mihat*** 'his/her parent'. (The words ***ctam*** 'male' and ***cmaam*** 'female' are often used here and in a few other expressions discussed below.) This verb also figures into the expression ***Zo mmihaya?*** 'How is s/he related to you?' (literally, 'How is your coming?').

The verb ***cyacj*** 'call sibling/cousin' has the following object nominalizations which are commonly used: ***hoyácj*** 'my sibling/cousin' ('the one I call sibling/cousin'), ***moyácj*** 'your sibling/cousin', ***oyácj*** 'his/her sibling/cousin', ***hoyácalcam*** 'my siblings/cousins', etc. In order to clarify whether someone referred to in this way is a sibling or a cousin, the following forms are used (obscurely based on ***caazi*** 'carry' and ***quiiquet*** 'be pregnant (with)' mentioned above): ***hiquipáazi*** 'with the same father as me', ***hiqui impáazi*** 'with a different father than mine', ***hiqui ipéquet*** 'with the same mother as me', ***hiqui impéquet*** 'with a different mother than mine'. Also, one may use the modifier ***aamo*** 'far': ***aamo hoyácj*** 'my cousin'.

The term for step-parent is based on the verb ***quicomíquet*** 'have someone as stepchild', which is in turn based on the kinship term ***acomíque*** 'stepchild: ***him quicomíquet*** 'my step-parent' ('the one who has me as a stepchild'), ***ma quicomíquet*** 'your step-parent' ('the one who has you as a stepchild'), ***quicomíquet*** 'his/her step-parent' ('the one who has him/her as a stepchild').

2.2 Unpossessed nouns

There are a few words which are not possessed nouns which may be used to refer to kinsmen. The words ***comcáii*** 'old woman' and ***cmaacoj*** 'old man' are sometimes used in reference to or when addressing one's mother or wife and father or husband, respectively. Similarly, ***comcáac queej*** 'old people' may be used to refer to the parents. The noun ***haméen*** refers to a family (and also to the interior of a house). The term ***hantx mocat*** 'who come from the base' (since the Seris think of their ancestors as being on the bottom of the pile) refers to ancestors in general.

Finally, the term ***hamác*** is used for the person who has certain responsibilities, including sponsoring puberty fiestas and burial. One's ***hamác*** may or may not be a relative. For more details, see Felger and Moser 1985:6-8.

3 Kinship terminology

Fifty-four kinship terms occur in Seri. (See the Appendix; the numbers in parentheses following a term cited below refer to this appendix.) We believe that all of these are elementary terms synchronically in that they cannot be analyzed into smaller parts. Some of the kinship terms were probably compounds historically, but irregular phonological changes have caused them to be considered as separate terms here. Nineteen of

these terms are used only if ego is male and nineteen are used only if ego is female. For sixteen terms the sex of ego is not relevant. The sex of the referent is relevant for all of the terms except for nieces and nephews, grandchildren, stepchildren, and (for male ego) parents-in-law. Many terms make reference to whether a person is older or younger than ego or than ego's parent; Seri has bifurcate collateral terminology. Two kinship terms are not included in the appendix since they are currently considered vulgar: ***hicám*** 'my husband' and ***hicom*** 'my wife'. These terms probably figure into the derivation of two of the other kinship terms, however, as we show below.

The terms are given in three forms in the appendix, and unless otherwise stated the forms cited below in discussions are the first person possessed forms. The second person possessed form may be formed by adding an ***m*** to the beginning of the third person possessed form. The absolutive forms listed are used only rarely, in expressions such as "it is necessary to wash one's father's shirts". The dictionary (Moser, in preparation) also lists the plural forms of each of these nouns since plural nouns in Seri are highly irregular. Various suffixes and stem modifications are used to indicate plurality. The dictionary also lists some verbs which are derived from these kinship terms by means of the prefix ***i-***. The derived verbs mean 'have someone as (kin)'; for example: ***quisáacat*** 'have someone for a son', based on the root {***-saac***} of the term ***hisáac*** 'son'.

3.1 Grandkinsman terms

There are eight grandkinsman terms. These distinguish the sex of senior kinsman, bifurcation, and seniority. The analysis given in the second column is based on Merrifield (1980).[3] Sex, m(ale) or f(emale), is indicated following an abbreviation for the relationship, P(arent), or C(hild), where the first implicit term is ego. Therefore mCmC refers to a male ego's male child's child and PmPm refers to ego's male parent's male parent. Merrifield also develops rules for deriving the extended meanings of kinship terms; we do not present these here.

(3)	***hipaz*** (31)	PmPm	parallel grandfather
	hiict (20)	PfPf	parallel grandmother
	heaz (2)	PfPm	cross grandfather
	himaz (27)	PmPf	cross grandmother
	hiquípaz[4] (40)	mCmC	man's parallel grandchild
	hicáac (5)	fCfC	woman's parallel grandchild
	hiquézi (38)	mCfC	man's cross grandchild
	hicáasac (6)	fCmC	woman's cross grandchild

The terms for grandparents extend to certain great aunts and uncles as well, as shown in (4-5). The diagram in (5) shows this, where "S" stands for "spouse" and "E" for "ego".[5] For example, the term for ego's paternal grandmother (PmPf) also applies to ego's father's mother's sister (PmPfPCf) and ego's father's mother's brother's wife (PmPfPCmS).

[3]Also see discussion, explication, and illustration of this approach in Merrifield 1981.

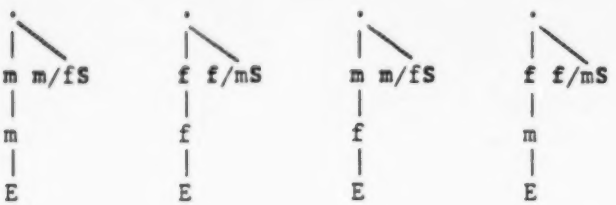
[4]The term ***hiquípaz*** may be derived from ****him quípaz*** (literally 'the one who has me for a grandfather'), a form based on a verb derived from ***apaz*** (31) 'his grandfather'.

[5]The latter is an innovation we introduce to Merrifield's abbreviations for the purpose of exposition.

(4)

	Primary	Extended	Extended
hipaz	PmPm	PmPmPCm	PmPmPCfS
hiict	PfPf	PfPfPCf	PfPfPCmS
heaz	PfPm	PfPmPCm	PfPmPCfS
himaz	PmPf	PmPfPCf	PmPfPCmS

(5)



hipaz ***hiict*** ***heaz*** ***himaz***

Certain great aunts and uncles by marriage (PmPmPCmS, PmPfPCfS, PfPfPCfS, PfPmPCmS) are not included in these extensions, and there is no term for them since they are not considered to be kin. We have elicited, but not observed, the fact that one's grandmothers and grandfathers can be distinguished from great aunts and uncles by the use of the modifiers ***isoj*** 'true' and ***heeque*** 'young' (regardless of whether the great aunt or uncle is older or younger than the grandparent).

We have observed a woman use the absolutive form of 'grandfather' ('father's father') with the subject nominalized form of 'dead' (typically used for animals) in a curse: ***hapaz coxi***.

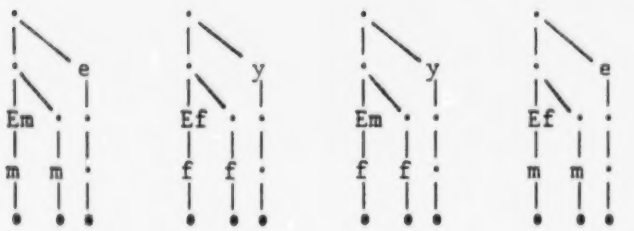
The terms for grandchildren extend to grandnephews and grandnieces, and also to the grandchildren of cousins, as shown in (6-7). The abbreviations ***e*** (for "elder") and ***y*** (for "younger") at the beginning of Merrifield's notation for these terms indicate priority or nonpriority of relationship, respectively.[6] For example, the term ***hicáac*** has the primary meaning of a woman's daughter's child (fCfC), but it also applies to a woman's niece's child (fPCCfC), and to a great-grandchild of a younger sibling of a woman's parent (yfPPCCCC).

(6)

	Primary	Extended	Extended
hiquípaz	mCmC	mPCCmC	emPPCCCC
hicáac	fCfC	fPCCfC	yfPPCCCC
hiquézi	mCfC	mPCCfC	ymPPCCCC
hicáasac	fCmC	fPCCmC	yfPPCCCC

[6]Merrifield claims that, while the meaning of "e" and "y" must be defined for a particular kinship system, it is sufficient to indicate priority only once in the string. He arbitrarily chooses to indicate it at the beginning.

(7)



hiquípaz *hicáac* *hiquézi* *hicáasac*

3.2 Parent and child terms

There are five terms for parents and children, excluding the vulgar terms and the derived terms mentioned in section 1. They distinguish priority, sex of senior kinsman, and sex of kinsman. The system is defective in two ways. First, when the sex of the senior kinsman is female, the sex of the other member of the dyad is not marked. Second, there are no kinship terms from this set for a woman's son or daughter. Recall that the expression ***hiiquet*** 'my child', derived from the verb ***quiiquet*** 'be pregnant (with)', is used by a woman.

(8)	***hii***[7] (19)	mPm	man's father
	him (23)	fPm	woman's father
	hita (42)	Pf	mother
	hisáac (41)	mCm	man's son
	heec (3)	mCf	man's daughter

These terms do not have any extended meanings.

There is one step-relation term: ***hicomíque*** 'stepchild'.[8]

3.3 Sibling terms

There are nine sibling terms, distinguishing priority, sex of ego, and sex of alter.

(9)	***hixíiha*** (49)	ePCm	older brother
	hinyáac (29)	emPCm	man's older brother
	himáac (24)	efPCm	woman's older brother
	hipáac (30)	emPCf	man's older sister
	hizáac (50)	efPCf	woman's older sister

[7]It was apparently common in previous generations, but not now, for a man to be referred to as the father of his dog. Most often the dogs were named for a mountain in the family's ancestral area. Manuel Encinas was known as ***Camota Quih Ai*** 'father of Camota'. Camota was his dog, which was named for a mountain near Pozo Peña. Luis Torres had a dog whose name was ***Pootli*** (baby talk for the loanword ***pootsi*** 'too short'). Luis Torres' father, Buro Alazán, was called ***Pootli Quih Apaz*** 'grandfather of Pootli'.

[8]The term ***hicomíque*** is probably derived from ***hicom*** 'wife' (discussed in the first paragraph of Section 2) followed by a shortened form of ***iiquet*** 'her child' (see Section 1).

hizcz (51)	ymPCm	man's younger brother
hicaz (11)	yfPCm	woman's younger brother
hicóome (17)	ymPCf	man's younger sister
hitcz (45)	yfPCf	woman's younger sister

Terms may be modified to indicate different persons, in the cases where more than one is possible. One way commonly used for siblings is illustrated below with the term ***hizcz*** 'younger brother'.

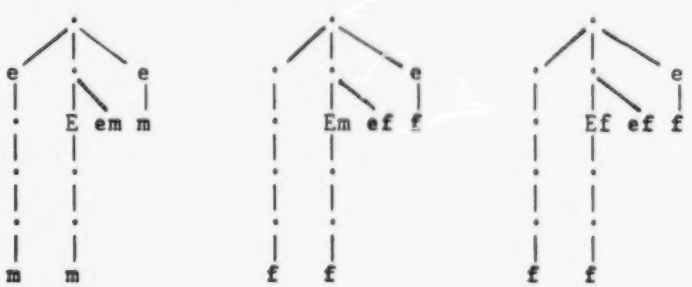
(10) a. ***hizcz caii*** 'the oldest of my younger brothers'
b. ***hizcz quisil*** 'the youngest of my younger brothers'
c. ***hizcz imac caap*** 'the middle one of my younger brothers'

Some of these terms extend to all members of ego's generation and to all members of the third generation from ego-older sibling terms to great-grandchildren and younger sibling terms to great-grandparents. Two of the terms for older brother, ***hinyáac*** and ***himáac***, do not. The modifier ***aamo*** 'far' may precede a term to indicate that the cousin is intended rather than the sibling. The Seri kinship system is of the Hawaiian type (Murdock 1949:223) since cross and parallel cousins are called by the same terms as those used for siblings.

(11)

	Primary	Extended	Extended	Extended
hixíiha	ePCm	CCCm	ePPCCm	ePPCCCCm
hipáac	emPCf	mCCCf	emPPCCf	mPPCCCCCf
hizáac	efPCf	fCCCf	efPPCCf	fPPCCCCCf
hizcz	ymPCm	mPPPm	ymPPCCm	
hicaz	yfPCm	fPPPm	yfPPCCm	
hicóome	ymPCf	mPPPf	ymPPCCf	
hitcz	yfPCf	fPPPf	yfPPCCf	

(12)



hixíiha ***hipáac*** ***hizáac***

(13)

hizcz ***hicaz*** ***hicóome*** ***hitcz***

3.4 Collateral parent and child terms

Thirteen terms are used for collateral parents and children, distinguishing bifurcation, priority of linking kinsman, priority of kinsman, and sex of senior kinsman. The Merrifield notation for parallel kinsman is '=' and for cross kinsman is 'x'.

(14)	***himáhaj*** (25)	e=PPCm	father's older brother
	hiitz (22)	y=PPCm	father's younger brother
	hixáac (48)	xPPCm	mother's brother
	hizmíi (52)	xPPCm	mother's brother
	ihyáac (54)	xPPCf	father's sister
	hitmáhaj[9] (47)	e=PPCf	mother's older sister
	hintáac (28)	y=PPCf	mother's younger sister
	hiquíitaz (39)	e=mPCC	man's elder brother's child
	hipxaz (32)	e=fPCC	woman's elder sister's child
	hicmáhaj (12)	y=mPCC	man's younger brother's child
	hitcamáhaj (46)	y=fPCC	woman's younger sister's child
	heac (1)	xmPCC	man's sister's child
	hizóoc (53)	xfPCC	woman's brother's child

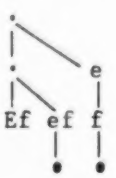
The term ***hixáac*** (48) 'mother's brother' is considered archaic. Term (52) ***hizmíi*** in its plural form ***hizmíiyat*** is used for kinsmen in general. Otherwise, the terms for aunts and uncles do not have extended meanings. The terms for nieces and nephews are extended as shown below.

(15)

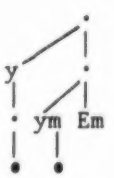
	Primary	Extended
hiquíitaz	e=mPCC	emPPCCC
hipxaz	e=fPCC	efPPCCfC
hicmáhaj	y=mPCC	ymPPCCC
hitcamáhaj	y=fPCC	yfPPCCfC
heac	xmPCC	mPPCCfC
hizóoc	xfPCC	fPPCCmC

(16)

hiquíitaz



hipxaz



hicmáhaj

hitcamáhaj

[9]The forms ***hitmáhaj*** (47) 'mother's older sister' and ***himáhaj*** (25) 'father's older brother' may be related to ***hita*** (42) 'mother' and ***hii*** (19) 'father', respectively. The morph ***mahaj*** also appears in ***hicmáhaj*** (12) and ***hitcamáhaj*** (46), although the significance of this is not clear.

heac

hizóoc

3.5 Affinal terms

There are seventeen affinal terms, distinguishing priority and sex of alter, priority and sex of linking kinsman, and sex of ego. One term, ***hicmajéete*** (13), is used in two ways and so is listed twice. The affinal terms are described in the Merrifield notation with the symbol S (for spouse) in the appropriate position.

(17)	***heequéect*** (4)	mSP	man's parents-in-law
	hiquémez (36)	fSPf	woman's mother-in-law
	hiquépez[10] (37)	fSPm	woman's father-in-law
	hicacám[11] (7)	CfS	son-in-law
	hicámaz (9)	CmS	daughter-in-law
	hicmajéete (13)	emSPCf	wife's older sister
	himaquéte (26)	ymSPCf	wife's younger sister
	hiquéemot (34)	mSPCm	wife's brother
	hicméhej (15)	efSPCm	husband's older brother
	hiquéetz (35)	yfSPCm	husband's younger brother
	hiquéec (33)	fSPCf	husband's sister
	hicáitz (8)	efPCfS	woman's older sister's husband
	hitcmajéem (44)	yfPCfS	woman's younger sister's husband
	hictám cöcaii[12] (18)	mPCfS	man's sister's husband
	hicatazáta[13] (10)	emPCmS	man's older brother's wife
	hicmajéete (13)	ymPCmS	man's younger brother's wife
	hicóaac (15)	fPCmS	woman's brother's wife
	hiilx cmaam (21)	fSPCmS	husband's brother's wife
	hitalxícom (43)	mSPCfS	wife's sister's husband

The term ***heequéect*** (4) 'parent-in-law' is used with either ***ctam*** 'male' or ***cmaam***

[10]It is probable that the forms ***hiquépez*** and ***hiquémez*** are related historically to the forms ***hipaz*** (31) 'father's father' and ***himaz*** (27) 'father's mother'.

[11]The term ***hicacám*** may be derived originally from ***heec*** (3) 'daughter' followed by ***acám*** 'her husband' (see the first paragraph of section 2).

[12]The second part of the term ***hictám cöcaii*** is related to the adjective ***caii*** 'mature', as indicated by their plurals: ***hictám cöqueej***, ***queej***.

[13]This term ***hicatazáta*** may be derived from ***hiquíitaz*** (39) 'older brother's child' followed by ***ata*** (42) 'his/her mother'.

'female' following it.[14] (***Cmaam*** also always appears in the expression ***hiilx cmaam*** (21) 'husband's brother's wife'.)

The extended meanings of these terms are shown below, although the graphic displays are not as exact as the Merrifield notation in a few cases.

(18)

	Primary	Extended
heequéect	mSP	mSPPC
hiquémez	fSPf	fSPPCf
hiquépez	fSPm	fSPPCm
hicacám	CfS	PCCfS, PPCCCfS
hicámaz	CmS	PCCmS, PPCCCmS
hicmajéete	emSPCf	
hicméhej	efSPCm	efSPPCCm
hiquéetz	yfSPCm	fS(P)PPm, fSPPPCm, yfSPPCCm
himaquéte	ymSPCf	mS(P)PPf, mSPPPCf, ymSPPCCf
hiquéec	fSPCf	fS(P)PPf, fSPPPCf, fSPPCCf
hiquéemot	mSPCm	mS(P)PPm, mSPPPCm, mSPPCCm
hicáitz	efPCfS	fCC(C)fS, efPPCCfS, fPPCCCC(C)fS
hicatazáta	emPCmS	mCC(C)mS, emPPCCmS, mPPCCCC(C)mS
hitcmajéem	yfPCfS	yfPPCCfS
hicmajéete	ymPCmS	ymPPCCmS
hictám cöcaii	mPCfS	mCC(C)fS, mPPCCfS, mPPCCCC(C)fS
hicóaac	fPCmS	fCC(C)mS, fPPCCmS, fPPCCCC(C)mS
hiilx cmaam	fSPCmS	fSPPPPCmS, fSPPCCmS
hitalxícom	mSPCfS	mSPPCCfS

(19)

heequéect ***hiquémez*** ***hiquépez***

(20)

hicacám ***hicámaz***

[14]This word ***heequéect*** is highly unusual phonologically in Seri since it has a noticeably long vowel in a syllable preceding the stressed syllable.

(21)

hicmajéete

hicméhej

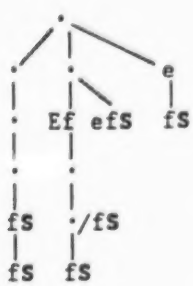
hiquéetz

himaquéte

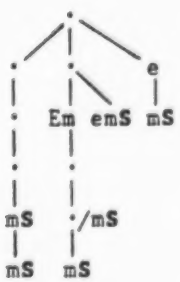
hiquéec

hiquéemot

(22)

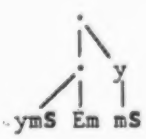


hicáitz

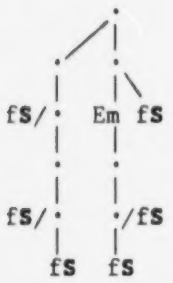


hicatazáta

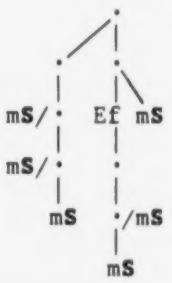
hitcmajéem



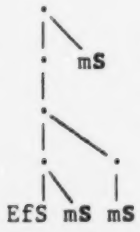
hicmajéete



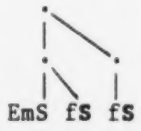
hictám cöcaii



hicóaac



hiilx cmaam



hitalxícom

4 Reference to deceased persons

Special expressions are used to refer to deceased persons. The expressions begin with ***ziix*** 'thing' or ***xica*** 'things', and may include the modifier ***caixaj*** 'who is strong' (pl. ***cailajc***) if the deceased person was an older person than the speaker or ***cmotómn*** 'who is weak' if the deceased was younger. One therefore would say ***ziix caixaj Juan*** to refer to a deceased man named Juan who was older than one. (An alternative would be ***ziix cmique caii ctam Juan*** 'thing Seri mature man Juan'. The exception to this generalization is that if the deceased was a brother, the modifier ***cmotómn*** 'who is weak' is used, and if a sister, the modifier ***caixaj*** 'who is strong' is used, regardless of the relative age of the sibling.

Some expressions are composed of the normal kinship or nonkinship term preceded by ***ziix*** 'thing'. (These are generally used only after some period of time has elapsed after the death.) The kinship term may use the special emphatic first person prefix ***hati-*** rather than ***hi-***.

(23) a. ***ziix iti hmiha (caixaj) ctam***
'my deceased father'
b. ***ziix iti hmiha (caixaj) cmaam***
'my deceased mother'
c. ***ziix iti miha mos toii ziix iti miha***
'his/her deceased parent's deceased parent'

(24) a. ***ziix hateequéect*** 'my deceased parent-in-law'
b. ***ziix hoyácj / hatoyácj*** 'my deceased sibling/cousin'
c. ***ziix hinyáac / hatinyáac*** 'my deceased older brother'
d. ***ziix himáac*** 'my deceased older brother'
e. ***ziix hiquémez*** 'my husband's deceased mother'

There are also several special circumlocutions to refer to deceased kinsmen, including those below. The following expressions are used to refer to one's deceased spouse,

(25) a. ***ziix ihyacái quipnáil***
'thing that I followed who had a skirt'
b. ***ziix caixaj Francisca quih yacái***
'deceased Francisca's husband'
c. ***ziix ihax icx hihíih***
'thing that I was with'
d. (grandchild's name) ***quih ata quih ziix iti miha***
'(grandchild's name)'s mother's father'

to one's deceased child(ren),

(26) a. ***ziix cmotómn hicot quiih***
'weak thing that was with us'
b. ***ziix itlén [an]o hoah***
'thing I held in (my) palm'
c. ***xica itlén [an]o hooquim***
'things I held in (my) palm'

to one's deceased mother,

(27) ***ziix itlén [an]o him quih quipnáil***
'thing with a skirt that held me in (her) palm'

to one's deceased grandparent,

(28) a. ***ziix (caixaj) ihyáa cáii***
'strong (mature) thing that I had'
b. ***xica (cailajc) ihyáa quéej***
'strong (mature) things that I had'

and to one's son-in-law and daughter-in-law.

(29) ***ziix cmotómn (quipnáil) hicot quiih***
'weak thing (who had a skirt) that was at our side'

APPENDIX: KINSHIP TERMS

	'my ...'	'his/her ...'	Absolutive	
1	*heac*	*aac*	*haacat*	xmPCC
2	*heaz*	*aaz*	*hapéez*	PfPm
3	*heec*	*eec*	*heequet*	mCf
4	*heequéect*	*aaquéect*	*haaquéect*	mSP
5	*hicáac*	*acáac*	*hacáac*	fCfC
6	*hicáasac*	*acáasac*	*hacáasac*	fCmC
7	*hicacám*	*acacám*	*hacacáma*	CfS
8	*hicáitz*	*acáitz*	*hacáitz*	efPCfS
9	*hicámaz*	*acámaz*	*hacámaz*	CmS
10	*hicatazáta*	*acatazáta*	*hacatazáta*	emPCmS
11	*hicaz*	*acaz*	*hapéquez*	yfPCm
12	*hicmáhaj*	*acmáhaj*	*hacmáhaj*	y=mPCC
13	*hicmajéete*	*acmajéete*	*hacmajéete*	emSPCf; ymPCmS
14	*hicméhej*	*acméhej*	*hacméhej*	efSPCm
15	*hicóaac*	*acóaac*	*hacóaacat*	fPCfS
16	*hicomíque*	*acomíque*	*hacomíquet*	stepchild
17	*hicóome*	*acóome*	*hacóome*	ymPCf
18	*hictám cöcaii*	*actám cöcaii*	*hactám cöcaii*	mPCfS
19	*hii*	*ai*	*hapée*	mPm
20	*hiict*	*act*	*hapéct*	PfPf
21	*hiilx cmaam*	*alx cmaam*	*halx cmaam*	fSPCmS
22	*hiitz*	*aitz*	*hapéetz*	y=PPCm
23	*him*	*am*	*hapéme*	fPm
24	*himáac*	*amáac*	*hamáacat*	efPCm
25	*himáhaj*	*amáhaj*	*hamáhaj*	e=PPCm
26	*himaquéte*	*amaquéte*	*hamaquéte*	ymSPCf
27	*himaz*	*amaz*	*hapémez*	PmPf
28	*hintáac*	*antáac*	*hantáacat*	y=PPCf
29	*hinyáac*	*anyáac*	*hanyáacat*	emPCm
30	*hipáac*	*apáac*	*hapáacat*	emPCf
31	*hipaz*	*apaz*	*hapépez*	PmPm
32	*hipxaz*	*apxaz*	*hapépxaz*	e=fPCC
33	*hiquéec*	*aquéec*	*haquéec*	fSPCf
34	*hiquéemot*	*aquéemot*	*haquéemot*	mSPCm
35	*hiquéetz*	*aquéetz*	*haquéetz*	yfSPCm
36	*hiquémez*	*aquémez*	*haquémez*	fSPf
37	*hiquépez*	*aquépez*	*haquépez*	fSPm
38	*hiquézi*	*aquézi*	*haquézi*	mCfC
39	*hiquíitaz*	*aquíitaz*	*haquíitaz*	e=mPCC
40	*hiquípaz*	*aquípaz*	*haquépez*	mCmC
41	*hisáac*	*asáac*	*hasáacat*	mCm
42	*hita*	*ata*	*hapéte*	Pf
43	*hitalxícom*	*atalxícom*	*hatalxícom*	mSPCfS
44	*hitcmajéem*	*atcmajéem*	*hatcmajéem*	yfPCfS
45	*hitcz*	*atcz*	*hapétcaz*	yfPCf
46	*hitcamáhaj*	*atcamáhaj*	*hatcamáhaj*	y=fPCC
47	*hitmáhaj*	*atmáhaj*	*hatáhaj*	e=PPCf

48	*hixáac*	*axáac*	*haxáacat*	xPPCm
49	*hixíiha*	*axíiha*	*haxíihat*	ePCm
50	*hizáac*	*azáac*	*hazáacat*	efPCf
51	*hizcz*	*azcz*	*hapézcaz*	ymPCm
52	*hizmíi*	*azmíi*	*hazmíi*	xPPCm
53	*hizóoc*	*azóoc*	*hazóocat*	xfPCC
54	*ihyáac*	*ayáac*	*hayáacat*	xPPCf

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